

## DEAN OF SYRACUSE SCHOOL

At 39, Mr. Cleveland became dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, directing graduate programs in economics, history, philosophy, political science, sociology, and anthropology.

In July 1941, he married Lois W. Burton, a librarian. Their children are all of college age: Carol Zoe was recently graduated from Rollins College, where Mr. Cleveland's mother was once dean of women; the twins, 20 years old, are juniors—Alan at American University and Anne at Barnard. Anne is spending this semester in Florence, Italy, under a program her father devised.

The Cleavelands have a rented home on McKinley Street in Washington, and the Assistant Secretary enjoys his drive at 8 a.m. through Rock Creek Park to the State Department "without getting involved in the city."

Mr. Cleveland is an eloquent man with a far-ranging mind. He seems to some to have a touch of professorial reserve but it is softened by a sense of humor that comes through in intellectual exchange.

#### U.S. OFFICIAL SEES U.N. VIETNAM ROLE— HARLAN CLEVELAND SAYS THAT THANT COULD HELP SOLVE BERLIN PROBLEM ALSO

(By Irving Spiegel)

Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, asserted last night that there was a role for the United Nations in any future settlement in Vietnam. He also suggested that the "good offices" of the Secretary General, U Thant, could be used in the case of Berlin.

Mr. Cleveland, comparing the Berlin and Vietnam problems, said that "in both cases the good offices of the Secretary General remain available in the event the protagonists have anything to say to each other; and in both cases the United Nations might well have a role in supervising an agreement if one can be reached."

He made his remarks in an address prepared for delivery at a dinner of the biennial convention of the National Council of Jewish Women. Delegates from various parts of the country attended the dinner of the 72-year-old education and service organization in the delegates lounge at the United Nations.

#### UNITED STATES SAID TO BE WILLING

Authoritative sources in Washington have indicated in the past that the United States has always welcomed the possibility that the United Nations would provide a channel for mediation in Vietnam. The difficulty, Washington sources said, has been that the Hanoi regime has shown no willingness to end its aggression or to begin negotiations.

Sources at the United Nations indicated that this was the first time that the State Department had suggested that the Secretary General might play a role in Vietnam.

These sources said there had been efforts by Soviet journalists and East European diplomats to see if Mr. Thant could go to Hanoi to try to find a solution.

#### ROLE OF DIRECT DEALING

Mr. Thant, the sources indicated, would agree to go if there was some tacit agreement by the Soviet Union and the United States and if Hanoi would be willing to receive him.

Another source interpreted Mr. Cleveland's reference to the "good offices" of the Secretary General as a sign that the State Department would do nothing to oppose a trip by Mr. Thant.

Mr. Cleveland, who is known as a strong advocate of greater use of the United Nations for peacekeeping operations, asserted that "some conflicts have not yielded to treatment by direct dealings among the parties."

Berlin is "an obvious example," he said, "and so—so far—is Vietnam."

In neither case, he said, was the United Nations able to assume the task of enforcing peace.

"In neither case," he added, "has it seemed useful to freeze positions through public debate as long as no basis existed for a negotiated settlement among the powers mainly engaged."

It was at this point that he suggested there was a role for the United Nations in Berlin and Vietnam.

"Meanwhile," he added, "in our multiplicity of machinery for containing conflict and building up systems for world order, the residual capacity for dealing with conflict and containing violence must reside with our own Armed Forces. Other peacekeeping elements are clearly preferable to the direct use of American force."

#### WHERE NATION'S INTEREST LIES

He said that the use of techniques of direct settlement was in the national interest, just as support "for regional peacekeeping institutions is in our national interest." He also said that support for the United Nations was in the national interest.

Earlier in the day, at the session at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, the delegates urged amendment of the Johnson administration's school-aid bill, saying that the bill in its present form opened "the door to involvement of sectarian educators in decisions affecting public education."

The delegates cited the need for safeguards that would preclude undermining of "our tradition of separation of church and state."

#### HOUSING BENEFITS OF THE KATE MAREMONT FOUNDATION

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I am happy to bring to the attention of the Senate the successful efforts of the Kate Maremont Foundation, in Chicago, to rehabilitate buildings before they are turned into slum tenements. The work of this foundation, assisted by the technical and financial resources of the Urban Renewal Administration, has helped Chicago's renewal program hurdle one of its most vexing problems. When code regulations are enforced, many landlords will make the necessary repairs, and then will begin to charge higher rents. The new rents force out the low-income tenants, who move into other overcrowded buildings offering low rents; and so the cycle continues.

The April 11, 1965, edition of the Chicago Sun-Times described the work and results of the Kate Maremont Foundation; and I ask that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Apr. 11, 1965]

#### REMAKING OF A CITY—FOUNDATION

NOTE.—For want of repairs and modernization many a Chicago building is becoming a tenement and many a Chicago neighborhood is sinking into a slum.

Now four attempts are being made to break the downside and to substitute prevention and rehabilitation for eventual slum clearance.

One is the effort of the Kate Maremont Foundation, another that of the Community Renewal Foundation.

The other two are a new city project and the continuation of the city's longstanding program of conservation and renewal.

If these efforts to upgrade the city's thou-

sands of substandard and outdated buildings succeed, urban renewal will move into a new and different phase.

The Sun-Times is presenting a definitive report on these new and varied efforts to remake a city.

(By Ruth Moore)

The problem was that the deterioration of thousands of the city's older apartments was enormous and seemingly intractable.

And when the Kate Maremont Foundation was established in 1963 and announced that it was going to undertake the rehabilitation of such buildings, it was about in the position of Jack the giant killer.

Only under special circumstances had substantial numbers of buildings been saved from a decline into slums, or brought back from those depths.

One was in conservation areas where the expenditure of millions for slum clearance and environmental improvement opened the way for upgrading the other buildings.

The other was in self-renewing areas where owners were willing to pay for improving their homes.

Elsewhere in the city buildings generally went only from bad to worse.

The Maremont Foundation proposed a bold attack, using newly authorized 100 percent Federal rehabilitation loans. It hoped to acquire about 100 buildings a year. The complexities of the work made this impossible, but the foundation now has rehabilitated or is rehabilitating 15 buildings with about 1,200 units at a cost of \$7 million.

Among them are slum buildings, other units only shabby with age, and "The Rosenwald."

The latter, officially the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments in the block bounded by 46th, 47th, Michigan and Wabash, was philanthropist Julius Rosenwald's 1930 private attempt to solve urban problems with decent housing.

Most significantly, the foundation has demonstrated that some key older buildings in a variety of neighborhoods can be remade into livable, modernized, code-complying apartments with little or no rent increase.

The demonstration helped persuade city housing agencies to move into a building-rescue operation as part of the renewal of the city. If the process proves feasible, the city with its right of eminent domain and its financial resources could rehabilitate buildings a private foundation cannot handle and do it on a scale prohibited to a private group.

Thus Chicago may be acquiring an effective new tool for halting slums and rescuing downgrade neighborhoods. The Sun-Times will report in another article on the program the city is organizing.

Arnold H. Maremont established the Kate Maremont Foundation in memory of his mother after he had seen the degraded condition in which thousands of welfare families lived.

As former head of the Illinois Public Aid Commission, Maremont knew that the State and Federal Governments in effect were spending \$50 million a year or more to rent the slums of Chicago.

Technically, the 90,000 welfare recipients in Cook County who rent private housing pay their own rent. Actually, the State makes specific rent grants.

Though the amounts allowed are standard, ards, many welfare recipients can afford only wornout apartments.

Maremont wanted to do something about this housing and about other substandard buildings. The Federal program offering not-for-profit organizations 100 percent loans at below-market interest rates offered an opportunity.

The loans provided for by the Housing Act actually amount to about 98 percent. It takes private funds to get projects started.

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\*The foundation provides this money and the initiative.

The large loans, coupled with a low interest rate—initially the 3½ percent the Government itself had to pay for the money—and repayment over a maximum of 30 years, were designed to permit rehabilitation without an increase in rent. But given these aids, the rehabilitation is expected to pay its own way.

Making such loans for the purchase and repair of derelict buildings was essentially a new process to the Federal Housing Administration. Most of its experience was with new buildings. To develop the techniques that would make the program workable, FHA set up a special Chicago office headed by Carl D. Whitney. A staff was borrowed from other FHA offices.

Real estate men then came in, offering to sell the foundation their worst buildings and some others. The FHA staff studied scores of them.

Many were rejected as being beyond help. Small buildings with fewer than 30 units, poorly converted buildings and buildings in extremely bad neighborhoods also were judged impossible risks.

Attention turned primarily to aging buildings in sound neighborhoods and to buildings near renewal areas, where coming developments would give an improved structure a chance.

An apartment building at 3034-38 North Halsted became the foundation's first project. Its 92 apartments faced on a green, attractive court, and they had not been abused.

But it was clear that unless the building were thoroughly modernized, its days were numbered.

The Maremont Foundation bought the building for \$350,000 and proposed to spend \$252,800 to put it into first-class condition. FHA approved the total \$602,600 loan needed.

After a slow start, the foundation began rehabilitating one tier at a time. Tenants were shifted to vacant units and no one had to leave the building.

The apartments and building now have a spick-and-span look. Paint is fresh and the floors have been sanded. The kitchen and baths with all their new equipment and outlets compare favorably with those in new buildings.

New closets provide some of the storage space the apartments always lacked. The foundation did not try to remove partitions or change room sizes, though the rooms are small.

And rents were increased only about \$5 a month. They now average about \$78 for a one-bedroom apartment.

In some of the other Maremont buildings rents were lowered or maintained at present levels.

The "stonefronts" the Maremont Foundation bought and is rehabilitating on the South Side provided a different test.

The once fashionable 80-year-old row at 1526-50 on East 85th could not have been in worse condition. The original 48 units had been cut up into 98 and the building virtually had been gutted.

The building department had found multiple violations, and had ordered the owners to deconvert and make repairs that would have cost several hundred thousand dollars.

Faced with this inevitability, they agreed to sell to the foundation for \$100,000. The foundation will spend \$375,000 to completely remodel the buildings. The \$475,000 total was borrowed on a 100-percent loan.

The 98 units with their crash panels and shared baths will be reduced to 57 apartments of 4 to 7 rooms each. Virtually new baths and kitchens will be installed, and the apartments thoroughly cleaned. In addition, the foundation will cut courts into the rear of the buildings to bring light and air to all the rooms.

With all of this, rents will range from \$90 to \$125 a month. The Woodlawn Organization, a community group, will work with the foundation on the project and will help to find tenants.

Strict code enforcement that made it possible to buy the building for a relatively low figure was one factor that enabled the foundation to act. The coming rebuilding of Cottage Grove between 61st and 63rd and the further development of the South Campus of the University of Chicago changed the outlook for the neighborhood. Both offered assurance of an environment in which a renewed building could healthily survive for the 30 years of the mortgage.

The Rosenwald offered still another test. The block-square buildings with their beautiful interior gardens had been an oasis in the generally forbidding area around them. Under the initial management of the late Robert R. Taylor and later, of a staff trained by him, the buildings were well maintained.

About 8 years ago the Rosenwald Foundation sold the building to private buyers. The buildings again were well handled, but by 1964 they were more than 35 years old. They, and the 450 units, needed major modernization if they were to maintain their character.

The foundation is buying them and plans to modernize them at a total cost of \$2,300,000. A noble experiment of another era thus will continue to fulfill its high purposes. Without action the anchor buildings and all that they stood for on the South Side might have been lost.

The foundation has been moving slowly but is gaining experience. It is now considering a move into one of the most solidly built areas in Chicago, the "Canyon" in Hyde Park-Kenwood.

Both sides of Ingleside between 47th and 48th are almost a solid mass of masonry. Apartments are built almost flush with the sidewalk and cover virtually every inch of the land. The block is one of Chicago's most notorious cases of overbuilding.

The situation was bad enough when the apartments were their original size. Then half of them were cut up into smaller units, until now there are 650 units.

Though the Canyon is in the Hyde Park-Kenwood urban renewal area, it has largely been ignored. To clear it would have required the relocation of a backbreaking number of families.

Such a solution was rejected by the city department of urban renewal. However, under the renewal program for the area the Canyon must be brought up to code conformity.

The Maremont Foundation has indicated that it would be willing to buy the buildings and rehabilitate them.

Studies have shown how this might be accomplished. To break up the solid mass and bring in light and air, the foundation would tear down two of the buildings on each side of the street. The back half of two other buildings on each side would be razed.

The way would then be open for a thorough renovation of the remaining buildings. With demolition done, rehabilitation would cost about \$1,600,000.

Negotiations to purchase the buildings have foundered on the high prices asked by some of the absentee owners.

The department of urban renewal has the authority under the Urban Renewal Act to use eminent domain to buy and raze or rehabilitate the buildings. State laws also permit the courts to disregard income from illegal conversions in fixing prices. When this has been done in other places prices often have been halved.

What will be done in the canyon has not been determined. Victor DeGrazia, president

of the Maremont Foundation, said that if the buildings can be purchased at a realistic price and rehabilitated according to the proposed plan the area could be turned into a good, stable place to live. As part of the renewed Hyde Park area it could have a bright future.

The Maremont experience has shown that the prime requirement in rehabilitation is patience, DeGrazia said. Many buildings and neighborhoods have to be studied before suitable programs are found.

Out of bitter experience, the Maremont Foundation also has learned that it cannot subcontract for all phases of remodeling—the wiring, plumbing, and all the rest. It now employs a general contractor who makes a general cost estimate and undertakes to have the work done for that amount. Foundation and FHA inspection insures that the work is done properly.

The further the foundation goes into management, DeGrazia said, the more convinced it is that it must have tenant cooperation.

A staff member is being assigned to work with tenant councils and with the neighborhood.

A nonprofit foundation has a special advantage, DeGrazia believes. He hopes that continued maintenance will reduce costs and lead to a reduction in rents.

Experience also has shown, DeGrazia said, that enough buildings in any one neighborhood should be rehabilitated to produce an overall effect on the neighborhood. Clustering helps.

Above all, DeGrazia argues, the Maremont Foundation's great experiment proves that rehabilitation is possible as one way of sustaining a city and rescuing it from decay.

*[Handwritten signature]*

#### OVERSEA STAFFS REMAIN INADEQUATELY TRAINED

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in a series of brief statements to the Senate over recent weeks—see pages 4059, 4751-4753, 5278-5281, 6382-6387, and 7599-7603 of the RECORD—I have attempted to demonstrate validity in the concept of the Freedom Academy bill as a most promising approach toward improving our capacity to function effectively as the leading non-Communist power in what threatens to be a generations-long struggle to make certain by peaceful actions that Communist organization does not become the world's dominant political form.

The bill, S. 1232, is sponsored by an extraordinarily broadly based group of Senators representing the entire spectrum of mainstream American political thought ranging from liberal to conservative. They are not a group of blustering professional anti-Communists. They are Senators basically agreed that this country must develop better defenses against nonmilitary aggression. Sponsors of the bill, besides myself, are Senators CASE, DODD, DOUGLAS, FONG, HICKENLOOPER, LAUSCHE, MILLER, PROUTY, PROXMIER, SCOTT, SMATHERS, and MURPHY.

The bill proposes, briefly, intensive concurrent effort of two kinds; research and training. Research would concentrate on an entirely new academic discipline which we have largely ignored but which has been intensely and determinedly developed for a generation or more by our Communist adversaries. This is the field of nonmilitary aggression—psychological warfare, guerrilla



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operations, enervating a target society, and all that goes with it.

We do not entirely comprehend these processes in our own Government. As the principal force of resistance against Communist and other totalitarian non-military aggression, we need to comprehend these processes fully and we need to disseminate this understanding to everyone who has interest in and capacity for establishing effective defense against such aggression.

So the Freedom Academy bill (S. 1232) proposes a training program more ambitious by far than our current efforts and substantially different in character and purpose. It is a serious and comprehensive effort to close the vast manpower training gap existing between the Communists and the free world. Three categories of persons could participate in such training. First, of course, would be American Government personnel who function in the area of foreign affairs. These are the individuals charged with responsibility for our own national defense; and they should be prepared to recognize, to understand, and to counteract nonmilitary aggression in its early stages when it can be counteracted without fielding an entire army to do the job.

The second category of trainees would be foreign nationals, citizens of foreign countries who have an interest in and a potential for resisting and stopping nonmilitary aggression against their own countries. We have mutual interest with these people. They seek to defend their own societies from external aggression and internal collapse. We seek to preserve their countries as nonhostile entities, societies independent from Communist domination. Such persons would be government officials or private citizens in position to act effectively, given advantage of the sophistication it takes to stop professional revolutionaries, to defend their own societies from externally inspired but internally conducted attack.

The third category of trainees would be American citizens employed in non-Government work whose assignments station them abroad and who, given the sophistication which the Freedom Academy could impart, could act effectively toward defense against nonmilitary aggression.

The research arm of the institution would be closely coordinated with the training arms; and training would be constantly bolstered by new understanding derived from continuing research.

A great deal of research, I suspect, would, as the several extensive congressional hearings on Freedom Academy bills have indicated, concentrate on communication and motivation. We need to know more and more about what makes other peoples tick and we need to know more about how to communicate effectively and persuasively with them in accordance with their own patterns of comprehension. We need to know what our adversaries already know about various national psychologies or psychological processes among different peoples. Already we know that effective motivational stimuli vary from one people to another. We need to know how they

vary and how this information is utilized by our adversaries and how it can be used to defend the integrity of non-Communist societies.

Last week I attempted to demonstrate from the periodical press that Communist revolutions occurring all over Africa are planned and coordinated by experts trained for nonmilitary warfare in countries which are antagonistic to our own interests. Today I would like to utilize the periodical press to show the same kind of development occurring in Latin America.

But no responsible person I know contends that all discontent in Latin America is fomented by revolutionary activity. Skilled revolutionaries, rather, exploit discontent, turn it to their own ends. We need better capability to erect good defense against such activity. The professional revolutionaries appear now to hold to themselves unchallenged the entire field of this effective political activity.

The Wall Street Journal of March 18, 1965, carried a story from Guatemala City, written by James C. Tanner, describing the general topic of Latin American anti-government activity. Of Communist endeavors, he writes:

Observers foresee increasing Latin American terrorism \* \* \* as Red China expands its revolutionary-minded ideology; the Sino guerrilla strategy particularly appeals to younger Latin leftists. One indication of American concern is that U.S. Latin trouble-shooters in the State Department now get regular reports from U.S. Embassies on sabotage and other violence. But terrorism is not the only weapon being used by Latin Communists.

The Reds are pushing peasant unrest and seizing on such issues as the Panama Canal to stir up turmoil. Though the Communists were unjustly blamed for starting the Panama Canal riots in January 1964, they were quick to capitalize on the friction. Since, a number of additional Communists have gone into Panama, and their hand was evident in the student-sponsored demonstrations this past January in observance of the "martyrs" who died a year earlier.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the whole text of this article, "Latin Leftists," from the Wall Street Journal of March 18, 1965, appear at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LATIN LEFTISTS—FEW AND DIVIDED, THEY STILL  
MANAGE TO MAKE TROUBLE

(By James C. Tanner)

GUATEMALA CITY, GUATEMALA.—Minutes before midnight on March 30, 1963, army tanks rammed through a wall around Casa Crema, the rambling "cream house" residence of President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, leveled their guns at the front door and waited while the jaunty Ydigoras packed his bags for a trip into exile.

Behind the golpe (Latin military coup) was a taciturn army career colonel with a penchant for horseback riding, Enrique Peralta Azurdia. Already defense minister, Colonel Peralta named himself chief of government and assured Guatemalans he acted only because Ydigoras was leading the government into corruption and yielding the land to communism. The 56-year-old colonel today still trumpets the Red threat.

Seated on an aging sofa in the national palace, he blames Castro "hoodlums" and

Communist "bandits" for Guatemala's spasmodic outbreaks of terrorism. But he confides that the military government is only a provisional one, that it is bringing political tranquillity and that presidential elections will be held before the year's end. He insists he will not be a candidate. But might he refuse to relinquish control to the new President? Yes, if the leftists win, replies the colonel. "Under no circumstances will we permit a movement with a communistic tint," he says.

Similarly, emerging political leaders in a growing number of the 2 dozen Latin lands are taking a tough, hard-line stand against the Reds. While this would appear cheering to Uncle Sam, many like the colonel heading this one-time communistic country are dictators. And even as the United States presses for democracies through such programs as the Alliance for Progress, it's being increasingly saddled politically with just the opposite. The claimed alternative is communism.

The Latin far left is being fragmented by the Soviet-Sino split and by the fading hero image of Castro. In the few countries where the Communist Party is not now outlawed, Red politicians are taking a thrashing at the polls. But the leftists are growing adept at keeping governments shaky and forcing golpes. Some observers of volatile Latin politics insist that dictatorships are in line with Communist objectives. Even if the Reds can't twist a revolt to their own aims as they did in Cuba, it's reasoned, a military government that makes a mess of running things offers more fertile ground than a democracy for Communist capture.

#### MAKING MORE NOISE

"The Communists in Latin America are weak, but they are making more noise and working toward the chaos that leads to military takeovers," asserts Arturo Jauregui, secretary general of the 28 million-member Mexico-based Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers. A Peruvian, Mr. Jauregui competes against Communists across Latin America for control of labor unions. Another Red foe, an astute Latin statesman, frets the day will come when perhaps as many as half of the Republics of Central and South America will be controlled by Communists. The other half, he reasons, will be ruled by dictators who have used the Red threat as an excuse to take over.

Latin America's Red repercussions pose more than just a matter of strategic concern for Uncle Sam. The United States has a bigger stake in this region than in any other area because Latin America is one of the best world markets for U.S. businessmen. American investments total \$1 billion in Chile and more than \$1 billion in Mexico, to cite just two examples.

Communists directed from Moscow, Peking, and Havana are after this plum. Red China recently proclaimed it now is in a position to increase the export of its ideology to Latin America. In January, Pravda called on Latin working classes to join peasants in breaking the stranglehold of U.S. imperialists. Specific targets named in the Moscow communique were Panama, Haiti, Guatemala, Honduras, Colombia, Venezuela, and Paraguay. Castro exports guerrillas to other Latin countries.

Until just a few weeks ago, Communists were well on the way in British Guiana to a solid toehold on South America's mainland. Guatemala once fell to the Communists, Cuba still is Red, of course, and Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil have come close to capture. And despite their small numbers and growing dissension within their ranks, the Communists are getting some results.

There are growing hints, for example, of a military takeover in Colombia. A thorny issue is leftist-inspired banditry. The com-

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mander of the armed forces complains increasingly of exploitation of Colombia's problems by what he calls "unscrupulous agents of foreign doctrines." President Guillermo Leon Valencia recently booted out his defense minister, mentioned as the likely leader of a pending coup.

A sticky situation also shapes up in El Salvador, though that tiny Central American nation has fewer than 1,000 Communists by government count. The trouble can be traced to Fabio Castillo, a physician turned talented administrator. A civilian member of a six-man junta which seized the government briefly in 1960, Mr. Castillo is using the national university he currently heads as a power base for the presidency, some Salvadorans claim. He's a recent visitor to Moscow, and set off a furor in his country with a proposal to bring in Russian professors.

Mr. Castillo also has labeled Salvador's reformed-minded president Julio A. Rivera a puppet of the United States. Through all the flap, President Rivera is acting with restraint. But this arouses mutterings from dissident elements of the military and from intransigent members of the oligarchy who want a hard-line approach to the leftist-leaning university. "As a result, the most serious threat to the political stability of the country comes not from the left but the right," notes a foreign diplomat at San Salvador.

If military coups should come in Colombia and Salvador, they would follow a path already paved by a swift sequence of golpes since Colonel Peralta made his move in Guatemala. The excuse of encroaching communism is the theme even though the actual threat may not be clear.

Some 17 months ago in Honduras, Col. Oswaldo Lopez Arellano, head of the armed forces, waged a brief but bloody battle to oust President Ramon Villeda Morales. The "golpe" came just 10 days before an election to name a successor for Villeda. Colonel Lopez, who now becomes constitutional President, says he acted to have the country from communism. Similar reasons were voiced by leaders of last year's revolt in Brazil which toppled the leftist regime of Joao Goulart.

Recently in landlocked Bolivia, after President Victor Paz Estenssoro courted danger by tangling with the Red-infiltrated tin miners' unions, widespread leftist-led student riots pushed his anti-Communist and American-backed government over the brink. Heading the military junta which overthrew President Paz: A crew-cut air force general, Rene Barrientos, who also is outspokenly anti-Red. Nicaragua has an elected president but the Somoza overlords still control that country; Ecuador is under a military junta, and a civilian junta rules the Dominican Republic.

#### REBELLION A POPULAR SPORT

Rebellion, of course, is the popular sport among Latins and not much of an excuse is needed to start one. A clandestine press conference by a former president sparked the Guatemalan golpe, for example. Though no Communist, Juan Jose Arevalo as president saw no danger from the Reds and permitted them to infiltrate labor and other groups.

His successor, moreover, was dominated by Communists. Jacobo Arbenz Guzman elected in 1951, staffed government posts with Reds, and Guatemala was controlled by Communists until a United States-backed insurrection chased him out. The most recent elected president, Ydigoras, was anti-Communist, but political conditions grew chaotic under his regime. Arevalo, in exile, loomed as his most likely successor. When Arevalo slipped into Guatemala to outline his presidential campaign strategy for the press, the military overthrew Ydigoras in a bloodless coup. Colonel Peralta justifies the action by characterizing Arevalo as a pro-Communist who would once again turn the country to the left.

A new constitution now is being drafted. It will prohibit the reelection of a former president, eliminating from the running such exiles as Arevalo, Arbenz, and Ydigoras.

Despite safeguards being written into the constitution and into its laws, Guatemala so far hasn't been able to legislate the Communists out of existence. The Communist Party is illegal, but some 1,000 active members continue working through a camouflaged front group. Castro-trained guerrillas operating near Lake Izabal in the interior and along the Honduras border occasionally machinegun an army officer, raid banana and rubber plantations, and sometimes, just to show the peasants whose side they are on, assassinate a landowner.

In recent weeks, urban terrorism by Guatemalan Reds—led by an army renegade trained in guerrilla fighting by U.S. forces in Panama—has taken a new tack with targets being U.S.-owned properties. New Year's Eve celebrations in Guatemala City included the burning of a U.S. Government garage along with the 23 cars in it. A U.S. Army colonel has been shot at, and a U.S. Army building bombed.

Observers foresee increasing Latin American terrorism of this sort as Red China expands its revolution-minded ideology; the Sino guerrilla strategy particularly appeals to younger Latin leftists. One indication of American concern is that U.S. Latin trouble-shooters in the State Department now get regular reports from U.S. embassies on sabotage and other violence. But terrorism is not the only weapon being used by Latin Communists.

#### THE CANAL ISSUE

The Reds are pushing peasant unrest and seizing on such issues as the Panama Canal to stir up turmoil. Though the Communists were unjustly blamed for starting the Panama Canal riots in January 1964, they were quick to capitalize on the friction. Since, a number of additional Communists have gone into Panama, and their hand was evident in the student-sponsored demonstrations this past January in observance of the "martyrs" who died a year earlier.

The Latin Reds, however, are running into some sizable setbacks in their more legitimate pursuits. Venezuela is cleaning up its Red-infiltrated schools, dismissing so far some 2,000 leftist teachers. A potentially potent leftist labor movement across Latin America has fallen apart. Not the least of the Communist troubles is the Peiping-Moscow rift. Notes a U.S. official long stationed in South America: "The older Communists that were Moscow-trained are aging. The younger ones for awhile leaped at Castro as the rising star. Now, he's out as a hero, and they look toward Peiping. So really, the unity of the Latin Communists is shot."

Pro-Soviet Reds still control the parties in most Latin lands. But their leaders are mellowing. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, an aging leftist who heads the Popular Socialist Party (PPS) in Mexico and long has been Moscow's chief missionary in Latin America, traded out with Mexico's ruling political party last year and backed anti-Communist Gustavo Diaz Ordaz for President. Now Mr. Lombardo Toledano is a deputy, spouting softened Marxist ideology from the congressional floor.

In Chile's presidential election last September, Communists threw all their support to a Socialist, a popular candidate who looked like a sure winner. He was soundly trounced by Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei. Mr. Frei's government further strengthened its hand in congressional elections this month by becoming the first to gain an absolute majority in the lower house. But experts on Latin Reds caution that their impact can't always be measured at the polls. Frei's programs in Chile, for instance, are being bottled up by the Reds. Though most citizens back his plans to go into partnership with the big U.S. companies

in Chile's copper business, the Communists are teaming with nationalists to accuse Frei of selling out to the Yankees.

So, despite the emergence of staunchly anti-Communist leaders in a number of Latin lands, it is likely the Reds will keep Latin America in ferment for some time.

Mr. MUNDT. Marguerite Higgins has also noted the increasing exploitation of real discontent in Latin America by professional revolutionists who work toward violent overthrow of legitimate governments. She has written two recent articles to which I will allude. One appeared in the Washington Evening Star of March 22, 1965, where she quotes Cuba's Che Guevara as having asserted to an interviewer that:

The armed fight which has already started in Guatemala and Colombia will develop into a continental movement.

Noting the newly agreed declaration by 22 Latin American Communist parties of support and solidarity for Fidel Castro, Marguerite Higgins tells how Castro finally obtained unified support for his type of revolution:

In exchange for a Castro pledge of hands-off in most areas of Latin America, the hemisphere Communist parties promise "active aid" for violent attempts to overthrow the governments of Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Haiti, and Panama. These countries were named in the Havana communique as countries where the "liberation movement is most likely to succeed."

And the professional revolutionaries are busily training others in their craft.

With Soviet, Red Chinese, and North Vietnamese guerrilla experts already in place in camps near Havana, Castro now has unprecedented backing from the entire Communist apparatus in the hemisphere.

There is no precedent—

Marguerite Higgins writes—

for such a brazen declaration of guerrilla warfare against sovereign nations in this hemisphere. \* \* \* It is a measure of world communism's confidence of America's inability—or unwillingness—to do anything about it.

My purpose in this series of statements is to answer just that charge—that our country refuses to confront this challenge. Establishment of something like the Freedom Academy, a concept which emerged from intensive effort and acute analysis, would commence improving defenses of the non-Communist world against nonmilitary aggression.

I ask unanimous consent that this article by Marguerite Higgins, entitled "United Reds Give Castro Lift," from the Washington Evening Star of March 22, 1965, appear at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### UNITED REDS GIVE CASTRO LIFT

(By Marguerite Higgins)

What are the Russians up to on the Caribbean front of the cold war? Is all as quiet south of the border as the Nation's preoccupation with Vietnam would seem to warrant?

The answer, unfortunately, is "No."

And the renewed cockiness of Fidel Castro & Co., inside Cuba and out, officials here concede, has a certain basis in fact.

An example of this cockiness was the interview given in Algeria by Cuba's far-traveling guerrilla expert, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, who declared, "The armed fight which has



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already started in Guatemala and Colombia will develop into a continental movement."

This is in line with the Cuban propaganda line that these two countries "will form the embryos for turning all of Latin America into a vast South Vietnam."

#### MOSCOW'S BLESSING

A new reason for this Cuban cockiness is the declaration of support and solidarity for Fidel Castro wrested from representatives of all 22 Latin American Communist parties in convention assembled in Havana. The communique of this Havana convention was issued in late January and immediately distributed by Tass New Agency, thus giving it Moscow's blessing.

But there is far more to the communique than meets the casual eye.

For one thing, it brings a certain order out of the interparty bickering and chaos that has often been a hindrance to Latin American Communist Parties.

For another, the communique of the hemisphere Communists, who are without exception under Soviet discipline, marks the first time in 6 years of power that Castro has been able to win this group's promise of coordinated support, not just for himself, but for his export of armed violence.

#### "ACTIVE AID" OFFERED

According to intelligence sources, Moscow engineered a rather remarkable compromise between the Latin American Communist Parties, who have resented Castro's meddling in their spheres of influence, and the Cuban dictator.

In exchange for a Castro pledge of hand's-off in most areas of Latin America, the hemisphere Communist parties promise "active aid" for violent attempts to overthrow the governments of Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Haiti and Panama. These countries were named in the Havana communique as countries where the "liberation movement" is most likely to succeed.

The communique marks an end to the previous contention of the Communist parties that revolution ought to be left to locals inside each country and sanctions export of terror and revolution to certain predestinated places.

With Soviet, Red Chinese and North Vietnamese guerrilla experts already in place in camps near Havana, Castro now has unprecedented backing from the entire Communist apparatus in the hemisphere. It will no longer carp and protest at Cuban meddling but will assist Castro.

#### BAD NEWS FOR UNITED STATES

In light of Castro's all too substantial successes already, this is bad news for his intended victims—and for the United States.

There is no precedent for such a brazen declaration of guerrilla warfare against sovereign nations in this hemisphere.

Unfortunately, it is not only a measure of Castro's cockiness: It is a measure of world communism's confidence in America's inability—or unwillingness—to do anything about it.

Whatever became of those ringing declarations of the Cuban crisis days in which the United States warned it would never stand idly by if Castro were to persist in attempts to export subversion in the hemisphere?

Mr. MUNDT. Miss Higgins continued a month later. She writes of the same developments but from the viewpoint of another month's consequential activities.

And what is the situation in these threatened countries? Violence has flared to some degree in all. But the situations in Guatemala and Venezuela cause the most concern.

American officials estimate that in Guatemala perhaps 500 well-trained terrorists are operating under direction from Havana where Soviet, Chinese, and even North Vietnamese

experts cooperate in training Latin Americans in subversion.

In Venezuela \* \* \* guerrilla activities in the rural areas, which had been conspicuously on the wane, are now rising in intensity.

I ask unanimous consent that the Marguerite Higgins article "Castro Isn't Shaken by United States," from the Washington Evening Star of April 19, 1965, appear at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CASTRO ISN'T SHAKEN BY UNITED STATES

(By Marguerite Higgins)

Fidel Castro is far from being in the corner into which Uncle Sam has tried to paint him. In fact, in some things, he is ahead on points.

This is the most significant conclusion to be drawn from careful analysis of testimony, given by top military, intelligence experts, and State Department officials to the House Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee.

This country has hoped that policies of economic isolation would make Cuba impossibly expensive to support—so expensive that Russia would find reason to cut Castro off without a ruble.

But according to John Crimmons, coordinator of Cuban affairs for the Department of State the situation today is that: "Despite apparent Soviet dissatisfaction with Cuban economic performance \* \* \* and despite Soviet resentments of Cuban actions and attitudes, we estimate that the community of interest between Moscow and Havana is currently strong and that the reciprocal benefits of their association override their differences."

Time was when the United States threatened the use of force if Fidel Castro attempted to export subversion.

But the fact today is that the export of subversion is a fait accompli and such experts as Ellsworth Bunker, former U.S. representative to the Organization of American States, believes that "we might well be on the threshold of an intensified Communist effort in this hemisphere."

"Not only has the American threat of the possible use of force failed to deter Castro, it has failed to deter any of the hemisphere Communist Parties or Moscow."

In November of last year, the Communist Parties of the hemisphere attended a conference in Havana at which they proclaimed in a communique they would coordinate efforts with Castro to overthrow by force and violence ("liberate") Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay, and Haiti.

And what is the situation in these threatened countries? Violence has flared to some degree in all. But the situations in Guatemala and Venezuela cause the most concern.

American officials estimate that in Guatemala perhaps 500 well-trained terrorists are operating under direction from Havana where Soviet, Chinese, and even North Vietnamese experts cooperate in training Latin Americans in subversion.

In Venezuela, the important thing is that the guerrilla activities in the rural areas, which had been conspicuously on the wane, are now rising in intensity.

The capture last month in Caracas of three Communist agents carrying \$340,000 in American money is indicative of the high priority given by the Communist bloc to the terror and havoc spread by the so-called Venezuelan National Liberation Front.

Mr. MUNDT. Now let us look a little more closely how these exercises in non-military warfare in Latin America are progressing. There is an article written

by a lieutenant colonel in the Argentine Army, Mr. Luis Alberto Leoni, which appeared in Military Review for January 1965, in which one method of undercutting legitimate government is described.

Castro's \* \* \* uncanny psychological perception of his people and environment have enabled him to maintain a somewhat hypnotic hold upon his admirers and fanatical followers. This he has done by the simple expedient of using grisly beards, field uniforms, and the ever present threat of "to the wall" as symbolic elements of the Cuban Communist revolution.

Nearly all the subversive groups which operate throughout South America wear uniforms fashioned after those of their Caribbean precursors. The experience gained not too long ago of masses of people inspired and agitated by slogans, symbols, and gaudy uniforms—all characteristic of fascism and nazism—contained lessons not overlooked by these new traffickers in fervor and violence.

This approach appeals to the crowd. Others go more directly to the individuals.

Among the means employed by Communist propaganda experts \* \* \* a special technique has been developed which involves the preparation and wide distribution of letters addressed to "the fellow peasant."

But look at the intensive work toward understanding the peasants to whom these letters are addressed before they are written. Note the motivational perception.

The technique employed in the preparation of these letters is proof in itself of the careful and detailed study of the peasant and his environment. The writers use a limited vocabulary, usually one not exceeding 500 words. Numerous comparisons and parables applicable to such typically everyday problems as the weather and the soil, which are common stock in the life relationships of agricultural societies, are also employed. Statements like the following—taken from a letter which recently appeared in Brazil—are typical.

"Together with your fellowmen, you are the one who makes up almost all of Brazil. You are the one who feeds the nation, while you go hungry yourself. You are the one who clothes us, while you wear only rags. You provide the soldiers to defend your country while your country neglects you. You provide labor and defend the big landowners who in turn exploit you. You give offerings to the church, which tells you to be submissive and turn the other cheek in the name of Christ. But Christ himself was a rebel.

And so on. There follows talks of Fidel Castro, of Mao Tse-tung, St. Francis of Assisi, and Christ.

This is powerful potion. It is targeted exactly at the group to be subverted. Colonel Leoni says:

It matches perfectly the intellectual level of the group for which it is intended, and in a clever manner it simultaneously presents certain truths and falsehoods.

And here is the warning to us in the United States who have failed to analyze nonmilitary warfare in order to prepare the non-Communist world to meet it. Colonel Leoni warns, "Right now these letters are not considered to present an immediate threat." This is so even though, in diverse versions, they are commonly distributed throughout Latin America.

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I ask unanimous consent that the article by Lt. Col. Luis Alberto Leoni "Letters to the Peasants," taken from Military Review of January 1965, appear at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## LETTERS TO THE PEASANTS

(Lt. Col. Luis Alberto Leoni, Argentine Army)

(NOTE.—Lt. Col. Luis Alberto Leoni is presently assigned to the general staff of the Argentine Army. He is a frequent contributor to Argentine military journals and the winner of several literary prizes. In addition to his other duties, Colonel Leoni teaches a course in counterinsurgency at the Argentine Army War College.)

Sociological research into the reasons for the tremendous popularity of the existentialist theory among European youth found form rather than intellectual content as the pre-eminent attraction which led so many to that particular philosophy.

A similar conclusion could be drawn in connection with the support which Cuban Communist subversion has been obtaining from certain groups of Latin American youths. Their reaction is characterized by a subservient imitation of the outward appearances of the Castroite dictatorship—as if the mere adoption of such extravagant postures and coarse language would promise to solve the numberless problems which afflict the American States south of the Rio Grande.

There is no doubt that Castro's exceptional ability and uncanny psychological perception of his people and environment have enabled him to maintain a somewhat hypnotic hold upon his admirers and fanatical followers. This he has done by the simple expedient of using grizzly beards, field uniforms, and the ever-present threat of "to the wall" as symbolic elements of the Cuban Communist revolution.

The emotional impact of these elements of apparent outward simplicity, but of great transcendence, is proved by the fact that nearly all the subversive groups which operate throughout South America wear uniforms fashioned after those of their Caribbean precursors. The experience gained not too long ago of masses of people inspired and agitated by slogans, symbols, and gaudy uniforms—all characteristic of fascism and nazism—contained lessons not overlooked by these new traffickers in terror and violence.

## IGNORE DANGER

Men and institutions of current democratic regimes, who are inclined to look at these reactions with indifference, seem to ignore the explosive danger which lurks beneath these demagogic efforts for the ideological conquest of men and minds under the Marxist yoke.

Among the means employed by Communist propaganda experts throughout the southern half of the South American Continent, a special technique has been developed which involves the preparation and wide distribution of letters addressed to "the fellow peasant."

The lexical, literary, and ideological content of these letters is a masterpiece of convincing propaganda which seeks to move the very soul of the peasant by the apparent truth of the majority of the statements therein. These statements are made with the obviously covert purpose of further transforming the peasant's life of misery and want to one of absolute totalitarian subjection.

The technique employed in the preparation of these letters is proof in itself of the careful and detailed study of the peasant and his environment. The writers use a limited vocabulary, usually one not exceed-

ing 500 words. Numerous comparisons and parables applicable to such typical everyday problems as the weather and the soil, which are common stock in the life relationships of agricultural societies, are also employed. Statements like the following—taken from a letter which appeared recently in Brazil—are typical:

"Together with your fellowmen, you are the one who makes up almost all of Brazil. You are the one who feeds the nation, while you go hungry yourself. You are the one who clothes us, while you wear only rags. You provide the soldiers to defend your country, while your country neglects you. You provide labor and defend the big landowners who in turn exploit you. You give offerings to the church, which tells you to be submissive and turn the other cheek in the name of Christ. But Christ Himself was a rebel, and that is the reason why He was crucified. Like Christ, the good Saint Francis of Assisi of Italy was also like you. Of those who are still living, Mao Tse-tung, of China, and Fidel Castro, of Cuba, won because they were like you and you are like them. You were and you are; you are and you will continue to be."

This technique for the conquest of the peasants has been quickly imitated in many other places of South America. Early in 1964 a similar "letter of proclamation" was widely distributed among the peasant population of the mountainous semijungle region of Salta, Argentina, near the Bolivian border, by a group of guerrillas whose activity was discovered in that area.

This particular letter, titled "Proclamation From the Second in Command to the Comrade Peasants" and issued by the Popular Guerrilla Army, followed the same subversive approach as the letter circulated in Brazil.

It matches perfectly the intellectual level of the group for which it is intended, and in a clever manner it simultaneously presents certain truths and falsehoods. This feat is accomplished by making reference to actual persons and known facts, although the latter are distorted in such a subtle way that they become easily acceptable as unquestionably true. Thus, the seed of doubt is sown in the minds of the worker and peasant while, at the same time, they are offered Marxist solutions to their problems.

Right now, these letters are not considered to present an immediate threat. The same could have been said years ago about the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels. But we must not overlook the great lessons to be found along the bloody and tearful path of history. There is ample evidence of social inequalities which must first be corrected for the sake of human dignity and to uphold the spirit of democratic ideals. In the specific case of Latin America, the action against Marxist subversion must be undertaken immediately. This action should consist of a determined and selfless campaign aimed at the elimination of human misery, social neglect, disease, and illiteracy.

The people south of the Rio Grande want neither pity, offerings, demagogery, nor Marxism in order to overcome these subversive trends. They need assistance coupled with dignity, capable government, harmony between labor and management, and, above all, justice among men. The placation must be attained now, not later when it may be more difficult to convince the people that their true environment is not the utopian life of a proletarian world proffered them by the terror traffickers full of false promises.

Only then will the peasant firmly realize that liberty and justice are the true symbols of a free world. Then, also, the subversive letters, leaflets, pamphlets, proclamations, and other propaganda means will lack the conviction, the sense, and the capability to undermine his spirit. Then it will be possible to talk about the true accomplishment of humanity—the victory of peace, human rights, and dignity on earth.

Mr. MUNDT. Finally, for today, let us turn to the New Leader. Norman Gall, who recently completed a Latin American tour for the Washington Post, contributed an article called "The Continental Revolution."

Gall wastes no time before identifying the major problem.

The fact is . . . in key areas of the country, the Venezuelan Government is now in a virtual state of war against guerrilla insurgents who are following a prescribed course of violence and economic disruption. This pattern of guerrilla insurgency is a clear reflection of the proliferating Communist literature of violence—a literature deeply indebted to the writings of Mao Tse-tung—and points to the adoption, in Venezuela, of the strategy of the long war, akin to the conflicts effectively waged in China, Algeria, and Vietnam. Designed to force large numbers of regular army units into antiguerrilla and security operations throughout the country and thus weaken the Government's ability to deal with urban rioting, terrorism, and barracks revolts, this strategy has already yielded the Communists a sizable dividend in political and social havoc.

Their tactics are familiar. Assassinations. Executions of peasants who don't cooperate. Attacks on small military outposts. Capture of munitions stores.

The real importance of the Venezuelan insurgency can only be measured against the increasingly aggressive tactics being adopted by the Communists in other key Latin American countries.

In Cuba and Peru, just as in Venezuela, the Peiping line of violent insurrection predominates, and in Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil it appears to be gaining rapidly. In the Peruvian Andes, more than 250,000 Indian peasants have been organized into Communist-led federations to invade haciendas and seize land.

The organizers, of course, are trained professional revolutionaries. Defending against their actions are personnel who largely do not recognize tactics used against them and who do not comprehend the challenge they confront. It would be interesting to know, Mr. President, what percentage of the officer corps of our own State Department and related agencies are intimately familiar with the tactical and strategic writings of Mao Tse-tung.

The Venezuelan Government, facing this immediate challenge of warfare, Gall says, exhibits a curious policy of silence.

The government has shown itself to be particularly lacking in resourcefulness when responding to the guerrilla incursions, even where its own programs are at stake.

That is, the officials responsible for defense do not comprehend the attack.

Gall quotes a police chief who has tried fighting guerrillas:

When we go out to hunt the guerrillas, we have only old Mauser rifles, no medicines, and no money to buy food. We must often confiscate our meals from peasants . . . guerrillas usually have money to pay for theirs. Many peasants are abandoning their farms. . . . Our letters asking for supplies go unanswered. We must arrest people to find out where the guerrillas are, since they have many agents in the countryside.

But perhaps most interesting in this article is his discussion of the careful preparation that 'precedes guerrilla expeditions.



[A] guerrilla leader in an area where his father is one of the chief landowners went to Rome to study law in the early 1950's; he returned \* \* \* a declared Communist \* \* \* in late 1950 [he] \* \* \* returned from a visit to Caracas with two youths who spent the next 2 months exploring the surrounding mountains. Early in 1959 groups of university students and professors appeared \* \* \* on "field trips" to map the zone. It was not until late 1961 that the first open guerrilla activity began there.

And again, the failure of responsible officials to recognize the threat:

One of the chief advantages in guerrilla operations is that the central government almost never recognizes their importance until it is too late. \* \* \*

Clearly \* \* \* the governments not only of Venezuela but of other Latin American countries need to realize that they are involved—and have been for years—in an extended political-military conflict. All signs now indicate that violence will increase convulsively as new insurgencies go unrecognized and uncontrolled, and efforts to establish constitutional democracy are repeatedly aborted.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Norman Gall's article "The Continental Revolution," appearing in the New Leader for April 12, 1965, appear at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### INSURGENCY IN VENEZUELA: THE CONTINENTAL REVOLUTION

("It is difficult, but not impossible, to believe in the triumph of Socialism in only one country. For some years now imperialism has been preparing an organized repression against the peoples of Latin America. \* \* \*. In response to this Internationale of repression, we foresee the organization of a continental front against imperialism. It will take time to organize this front, but when it exists it will represent a severe blow, if not a definitive one against imperialism."—Ernesto "Che" Guevara, interviewed in the Algerian magazine Révolution Africaine, December 26, 1964.)

(By Norman Gall)

SANTA CRUZ DE BUCARAL.—For 2 years now the successive Accion Democratica governments of Presidents Romulo Betancourt and Raul Leoni have been announcing the imminent annihilation of all guerrilla activity in Venezuela. In his televised New Year's message, Leoni referred to the guerrillas as "some tens [decenas] of delirious nonconformists" engaged in "criminal terrorist activities in the cities and an absurd and impotent rebellion in certain rural zones." Yet, far from being destroyed, guerrilla warfare has spread to wider and wider areas of the country during the past year. In Trujillo and Falcon, two states where the army has had to be dispatched for antiguerrilla operations, the peasants are gripped by fear of reprisals from both the guerrillas and the army, and in all the cities and towns I have visited during a month in Venezuela the guerrillas have loomed unmistakably as the prime topic of conversation.

The fact is, not only in the states of Trujillo and Falcon but elsewhere in key areas of the country, the Venezuelan Government is now in a virtual state of war against guerrilla insurgents who are following a prescribed course of violence and economic disruption. This pattern of guerrilla insurgency is a clear reflection of the proliferating Communist literature of violence—a literature deeply indebted to the writings of Mao Tse-tung—and points to the adoption, in Venezuela, of the strategy of the "long"

war," akin to the conflicts effectively waged in China, Algeria, and Vietnam. Designed to force large numbers of regular army units into antiguerrilla and security operations throughout the country and thus weaken the Government's ability to deal with urban rioting, terrorism, and barracks revolts, this strategy has already yielded the Communists a sizable dividend in political and social havoc.

The apparent aim of the guerrillas is to divide Venezuela militarily during an uprising. With that end in view, there is now a chain of overt or incipient guerrilla activity from the first continental outcropping of the Andean Mountain system near Cabure, about 30 miles from the Caribbean coast, all the way south to the Colombian frontier. Using the principal waterways of the region as their points of contact, the guerrillas in the mountains are able to coordinate their operations with those of their urban counterparts, the Unidades Tacticas de Combate (UTC), who function in a great many municipalities.

The significance of these operations cannot be judged either by their present strength or by current battle reports, which for the most part list only attacks on six-man police posts, assassinations of peasants accused of betraying the guerrillas, and assaults on military checkpoints on highways approaching the mountains. The real importance of the Venezuela insurgency can only be measured against the increasingly aggressive tactics being adopted by the Communists in other key Latin American countries.

In Cuba and Peru, just as in Venezuela, the Peiping line of violent insurrection predominates, and in Ecuador, Colombia and Brazil it appears to be gaining strength rapidly. In the Peruvian Andes, more than 250,000 Indian peasants have been organized into Communist-led federations to invade haciendas and seize land. Shipments of Communist arms have been entering Peru across the altiplano frontier with Bolivia, and in 1964 the Peruvian Communist Party was purged to give control to its pro-Chinese faction; leaders who favored cooperation with the regime of President Fernando Belaunde Terry, whom the Communist organization in the Peruvian sierra helped elect, were expelled. Similarly, in the northeast region of Brazil, which contains the most widely publicized peasant leagues in Latin America, a Maoist insurgency has split the Communist Party in two.

As an area of potential revolutionary activity, then, the Andean highlands of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador look fertile indeed. Comprising more or less what had been the old Inca empire, this region forms a single geopolitical unit whose more than 10 million Indian inhabitants have scarcely been touched by Western culture. Like the peasants of prerevolutionary China, they speak vernacular tongues (Quechua and Aymara) divorced from the official language; they are subject to aristocratic exploitation and repression, deep communal allegiances, and extreme scarcity of land among the mass of subsistence farmers. Peonage and primitive farming methods continue unchanged, landlords collect rent in the form of labor, and the per capita ratio to cultivated land is virtually the same as that which existed in old China.

The beacon for this pattern of revolutionary activity is Cuba, which, after overtures last year toward better relations with the United States, has begun to formulate what appears to be a new hard line. "Che" Guevara's recent journey to Africa and Asia produced many statements supporting the Chinese attempt to divide the world into white and colored camps, and in Algiers he specifically mentioned the organization of a "continental front against imperialism" in Latin America to oppose the "Internationale of repression" being formed by the United

States. Castro himself, faced with increasing economic hardship and the possibility of curtailment of Soviet aid, used the occasion of his sixth anniversary in power, in January, to warn that Cuban Communists needed no meddling advice from other Communist parties—presumably a reference to the restraining hand of Moscow—and voiced faith in the ability of his people to subsist without foreign aid.

But Cuba's role involves more than rhetoric. Last November 14, Venezuela's Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) opened its international headquarters in Havana with ceremonies attended by the Russian, Chinese and North Vietnamese Ambassadors. In a New York interview a month later, Guevara declared: "The road to the liberation of peoples, which will be the road to socialism, will go through bullets in almost all countries \* \* \*. We have much enthusiasm for the freedom fighters in Venezuela. We have taught some of them to acquire military knowledge."

The majority of young Latin Americans now being schooled in Cuba in the tactics of rural and urban guerrilla warfare are, in fact, Venezuelans and Colombians, and the insurgent movements in both countries remain in frequent contact across an unguarded border which traditionally has been an open door for heavy smuggling in arms, cattle, and consumer goods. Colombian guerrillas have been operating for months now in the eastern mountain range along the Venezuelan frontier, and are said to have enlisted the bandits of the area in their service.

It is against this background of rising guerrilla warfare along Maoist lines throughout Latin America that the activities of the Venezuelan insurgents must be seen. Even in Venezuela itself, however, exact information about both guerrilla and antiguerrilla operations is not easy to come by. Communist journalists who remain infiltrated in the press, together with their still powerful, reactionary bosses, are alike in wanting to discredit the Accion Democratica government. As a result, news of the antigovernment operations strays from secrecy to exaggeration to confusion.

For example, a girls' magazine called Venezuela Grafica, owned by the rightwing Capriles chain, recently published a long picture story eulogizing the guerrillas. But it turned out that the pictures accompanying what were purported to be on-the-scene interviews were from another area of the country. The magazine was suspended for printing the story, and both left and right accused the government of resorting to dictatorial methods.

The source of a good deal of exaggerated reportage on guerrilla activities in INNAC, a news service owned by the rightwing newspaper El Universal, whose owner was the Communist-backed candidate for the presidency of the Venezuela Press Association last year. Venezuela as a whole relies greatly on INNAC for news of the interior, though the organization is said to be heavily infiltrated by Communists.

The government further confuses the problem by pretending at times that it doesn't exist. Last October four peasants were kidnapped and murdered by guerrillas near the village of Guaramacal in the Andean state of Trujillo. After the bodies were exhumed and identified, investigating officials reported the murders to Caracas, but the news remained a secret. For months now 600 troops have been engaged in antiguerrilla operations in Trujillo, begun in response to the Guaramacal killings, yet there are no official reports on their activities. In February, the Caracas press reported the crash of an army helicopter in the Falcon state guerrilla zone, but denied that the helicopter had been brought down by ground fire. On the following day, though, the Army rushed a company of reinforcements into the area.

Only last month, 30 guerrillas captured the police headquarters and telegraph office in the Falcon state town of Aracua. They sized a supply of weapons and ammunition, took over the town for 3 hours, and fled before any troops arrived. The following day the Minister of Defense, Gen. Ramon Florencio Gomez, said the guerrilla activities were "insignificant."

In addition to its curious policy of silence, the government has shown itself to be particularly lacking in resourcefulness when responding to the guerrilla incursions, even where its own programs are at stake. The following incident provides a graphic illustration of its ineffectiveness.

In November there was a public execution carried out by the guerrillas in Tapatapa, about 20 miles from the village of Santa Cruz de Bucaral. The trip takes 2 hours by jeep or 6 hours by burro—and the chilling winter rains often turn the dirt roads into swamps so that only burros can get through. The roads wind through the rugged mountains and forests of Falcon state to connect caserios of mud-splattered adobe dwellings like Tuy and Tapatapa and Macuquita, which do not appear on the map.

Three years ago, the government bought a large hacienda at Tapatapa and called a meeting to tell the squatters that they could continue living on their parcels. Without further ceremony or improvement, the Instituto Agrario Nacional added Tapatapa to the list of agrarian reform sites in which nearly 80,000 peasant families are said to have been "resettled" in the past 6 years.

The secretary general of the peasant sindicato at Tapatapa, Rodolfo Romero, was also the local leader of the government's Accion Democratica Party. Neighbors claimed that Romero "tried to make himself big" by falsely accusing his enemies of collaborating with the guerrillas then being sought by the direccion general de policia (Digepol, the state security police) and the army. In any event, when Romero was informed that Douglas Bravo and his guerrilla followers were in the neighborhood, he set out for the army post in Santa Cruz to inform the commander.

When he arrived at the camp, another farm expropriated for the agrarian reform, the soldiers said they could not go to Tapatapa without permission from the command post 100 miles away. Romero waited for the orders from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.; they did not come, and he started back.

On the lonely burro trail Romero was intercepted by guerrillas, who had been waiting for him. They marched him back to Tapatapa with his hands tied behind his back, hung him from a tree by his armpits and threw broken bottles at his face to make him bleed. They read an execution decree accusing Romero of betraying the cause of national liberation, then shot him as the whole community watched. About 30 families abandoned their parcels in Tapatapa in the next few days.

One Accion Democratica congressman from the area commented: "When their leader dies this way, how will the others act? Through bribery and terror the guerrillas are steadily winning our peasants. The area is ideal for guerrillas. It has corn, cattle, abundant fresh water, and many mountains and caves. They are led by local boys who know the land far better than the army. The number of guerrillas in the hills is not important now. What is important is the number of collaborators in the villages and farms beside the roads.

"The guerrillas use money stolen from stores and factories and banks in the cities," the congressman continued. "They buy food from peasants at two or three times the regular price. They call their robberies 'revolutionary confiscations' and give away the money as 'advances on revolutionary agricultural credit' which the FALN says it will

bring them in a future agrarian reform. The peasants voted for us by force of habit, but they are giving up hope and are cooperating more and more with the Communists. When is the Alliance for Progress coming to these mountains to meet its enemy? I asked the political officer of the U.S. Embassy this question, and he merely said there already are appropriate institutions handling these problems."

The situation of the peasants, caught in the crossfire of guerrilla and government forces, has now become extremely grave. "When the army came to these mountains, things become rough for the peasants," said one farmer in Santa Cruz de Bucaral. "When the guerrillas were relatively unknown, a peasant could coexist with them, getting good prices for his corn and hens, though most of those cooperating did so for fear of being killed. When the army arrived the peasants had two governments to deal with. The digepol is very badly trained. They often jail a peasant for a week or 10 days when he comes to give information, so that his whole neighborhood knows he has informed when he gets back home. The peasant then just stops giving information. The guerrillas pay for what they take and respect his women, while the army and the digepol often do neither. To top all this, people go around making false accusations to the army and police about their neighbors to settle old grudges."

The difficulties facing those assigned the task of suppressing the guerrillas were explained to me by Rafael Antonio Garcia, the young police chief of Santa Cruz de Bucaral. "When we go out to hunt the guerrillas we only have old Mauser rifles, no medicines and no money to buy food," he said. "We must often confiscate our meals from peasants. This is always a big problem, as the guerrillas usually have money to pay for theirs. Many peasants are abandoning their farms, leaving behind their animals and immovable possessions. The losses in crops are incalculable; large fields are abandoned with the corn unharvested. Our letters asking for supplies go unanswered. We must arrest people to find out where the guerrillas are, since they have many agents in the countryside. In November and December we arrested 63 peasants as agents."

Meanwhile, the guerrilla movement has itself given a new impetus to the Venezuelan Communists, who had lately been losing ground. The violence of the Betancourt years cost the Communists dearly. Many of their top leaders are jailed. Their support in the universities, though still strong, has ebbed significantly. Their once effective infiltration of the press, the teaching profession, and the armed forces has been somewhat reduced. In terms of both popular and organizational strength, the Communists are thus considerably less powerful than they were following the 1958 overthrow of Dictator Marcos Perez Jimenez—the period in which they enjoyed legality, infiltration, and influence. For all their lobbying, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare—and the prestige accrued from opposing the dictatorships of Perez Jimenez and Juan Vincente Gomez (1908-35)—the Venezuelan Communists have yet to produce a leader comparable in stature to a Castro or a Togliatti.

Ever since the failure of the FALN to stop the 1963 election, internal memorandums of the Venezuelan Communist Party (VCP) have been full of reproaches and laments concerning the sad state of party organization. There are, moreover, strong personal and ideological differences among the extremist leaders.

The FALN memorandum, "Our Errors," describes some of its internal difficulties as "Exhibitionism, which constantly leads us to show off \* \* \* before friends, comrades, and strangers, the tasks we are undertaking, the secrets we know \* \* \*. Deviations of a

military character [take place] when we substitute personal leadership for collective leadership, when we seek to demonstrate that we are right by raising our voice or by constantly insisting on our positions as 'chiefs.'"

Still, the FALN record for 1964 has not been barren of success, and its prospects have been considerably brightened by the activities of the guerrillas. Thus, a recent memorandum of the VCP Politburo outlines a "defensive situation" to last "at least 6 months," with a plan consisting of the following operations: accelerated programs for training guerrillas abroad to take advantage of "unlimited" facilities offered; a campaign for amnesty for jailed insurrectionists; offers of a truce to the government by the VCP and the Marxist-Leninist Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR); quiet gestation of more guerrilla activity; and renewed efforts at infiltration of the armed forces.

In 1964 the leftist forces, even while expanding their guerrilla operations, were able to create a political climate propitious to amnesty for their jailed leaders. Yet the jails, as so often is the case when they house political prisoners, have become schools of revolutionary theory and tactics. Former Senator Pompeyo Marques, leading ideologue of the VCP's dominant pro-Chinese wing, writes his weekly column from his jail cell; it appears under the pseudonym "Carlos Valencia" in the Communist paper Que.

The amnesty campaign is being spearheaded through pressure on President Leoni by two old enemies who have joined Accion Democratica in a government coalition—the Union Republicana Democratica (URD) and a new party led by writer-politician Arturo Usiar Pietri. Both Usiar and URD have long records of collaboration with the Communists. During the Christmas rush of pressure for amnesty, the jailhouse corridors were crowded by the comings and goings of leading URD and Usiarista politicians. To date 33 political prisoners have been freed.

In the 1958 elections the VCP won 160,000 votes (6 percent of the total), which makes plausible a recent military estimate that there are 2,000 rural guerrillas and 3,000 urban UTC members available to the FALN, including those trained but not yet used. The new clandestine tactical manual "FALN Will Conquer" spells out one of the gravest political problems of antiguerrilla warfare in Latin America: "The uncontrolled increase in the armed forces would break the equilibrium of forces guaranteeing the stability of the Government; in other words, a civil government cannot sustain itself in a Spartan Venezuela. When revolutionary operations constantly strike the reactionary military vanguard, it is probable that the military will insist on certain political controls for 'pacification' and finally will decide on a coup d'etat."

One high-ranking Accion Democratica leader confirmed this analysis when he told me recently: "The real possibility of military overthrow of this Government is from the right rather than the left. It is likely that there will be a coup in Colombia soon and this could produce a strong reaction here. We are giving away nothing on the political prisoners. URD and Usiar have promised so much during the election campaign on this that we have to let them blow off steam. The few prisoners we have released mostly are students whose parents assured us that they will study at universities abroad. We are being careful, and no Communist leaders will be released for a good while."

Probably more significant than the size of guerrilla operations at this stage is the care with which they have been organized. The first guerrilla units in Falcon and Lara States began functioning near the only two hamlets in western Venezuela where the Communists won a clear majority in the 1958 elections.



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Hipolito Acosta, guerrilla leader in an area where his father is one of the chief landowners, went to Rome to study law in the early 1950's; he returned to his Falcón village of Curimagua a declared Communist. His neighbors recall that in late 1950 "Polito" returned from a visit to Caracas with two youths who spent the next 2 months exploring the surrounding mountains. Early in 1959, groups of university students and professors appeared in Curimagua on "field trips" to map the zone. It was not until late in 1961 that the first open guerrilla activity began there.

"They spend their first 6 months in the mountains carefully exploring the land and acclimatizing themselves to the cold and rain," one Congressman from Trujillo State told me. "Many are university students from the cities and need this preparation. After months of secrecy they slowly start approaching the peasants, buying provisions at high prices and sometimes handing out medicines. They say they want to liberate the country from Yankee imperialism and its agents, the leaders of Accion Democratica. Only when they are established in the countryside do they finally attack to draw the army into the zone, trying to make the peasants feel the Government cannot protect them and that there is greater security in siding with the guerrillas."

One of the chief advantages in guerrilla operations is that the central government almost never recognizes their importance until it is too late. When will it be too late in Venezuela? It is a nation of chronic instability—exacerbated by an illegitimate birth rate of around 50 percent, a steady migration of peasants to the cities, furious political hatreds, and a military establishment which has let only one elected government in Venezuelan history, the Betancourt regime, finish its constitutional term.

In few Latin American nations, moreover, does there exist so dramatic a contrast between capital and countryside as between the opulence of Caracas and the abysmal condition of the Venezuelan peasantry. The Betancourt regime contributed major extensions of education and health facilities. Yet there are still appalling shortages of rural electrical and water supply installations, schools and medical facilities. Most of the scattered rural population—living in isolated shacks which cannot be protected from bands of armed men—suffers from anemia, malnutrition, and parasite infections which stunt growth (many male peasants are under five feet in height). Some 300,000 eligible peasant families are still waiting to receive land under an agrarian reform program which has been ineptly and sometimes corruptly implemented.

Clearly, then, the governments not only of Venezuela but of other Latin American countries need to realize that they are involved—and have been for years—in an extended political-military conflict. All signs now indicate that violence will increase convulsively as new insurgencies go unrecognized and uncontrolled, and efforts to establish constitutional democracy are repeatedly aborted. In the past the progress of Communist insurrection in Venezuela has been slowed by its own indiscriminate terrorism as well as the determined opposition of a freely elected government. After the tumultuous years (1959-64) of rightist and leftist insurrection against the Betancourt regime, the people of Venezuela are tired of violence, and yearn for stability. And at the moment the Communists show no capacity to seize power abruptly.

But their popular strength will rise rapidly if the Leoni Government should lose the initiative in the political struggle, either through failure to deliver on its promises of social advance or by flagging in its deter-

mination to resist insurrection. Either course would heighten the danger of a military coup, for which the FALEN has been maneuvering in order to produce a polarization in Venezuelan politics. The result of a rightist military takeover would almost certainly be a gruesome reenactment of the Spanish civil war throughout the region of the Andean highlands. Thus, the outcome of this political struggle has implications for the United States as well.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, we need to confront this mounting challenge. Senate sponsors of the Freedom Academy bill apprehend that practitioners of the new art of nonmilitary warfare are well begun toward asserting world dominion. And we, upon whom fundamental responsibility for organizing global defense rests, have not yet determined to comprehend the art.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

#### VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of the unfinished business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Michigan.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1564) to enforce the 15th amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, the pending amendment, of which I am a cosponsor, should be adopted. I find it ludicrous that there is any opposition to it at all. The arguments that have been offered against it are superficial, unresponsive, and irrelevant. In substance, they represent a negative attitude approving the status quo, which simply means that citizens validly casting their votes in elections in some areas will continue to have their voice in Government canceled out by illegal votes or by votes which have been purchased by those who wish to perpetuate themselves in office.

The amendment by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] and myself simply provides as follows:

Whoever knowingly or willfully gives false information as to his name, address, or period of residence in the voting district for the purpose of establishing his eligibility to register or vote, or conspires with another individual for the purpose of encouraging his false registration or illegal voting, or pays or offers to pay or accepts payment either for registration or for voting shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

We believe that section 14(d) of the pending voting rights bill is deficient. First it limits its coverage to registration and voting under this act. There is no reason for limiting such coverage. Registration under this act or under any other act should be covered. There should be no loopholes. We should have

clean elections period—not clean elections under one act and unclean elections under some other act. The bill prohibits fraudulent registration. This is more difficult to prosecute than false registration, which is what our amendment prohibits. What cancels out the registration of an honest citizen is a false registration—fraudulent or otherwise. The bill prohibits the payment for illegal voting or the receipt of payment for illegal voting. Our amendment prohibits the payment of money for any voting, legal or illegal, or the receipt of payment therefor. Whether the voting is legal or illegal, it is the payment that we seek to prohibit, because it is precisely this type of activity which corrupts the election process.

In this connection, I would point out that the word "payment" is intended to be reasonably construed. It does not cover giving a person a ride to the polls, for example. It certainly does cover the payment of money. If candidates for political office are so lacking in qualification that they or their supporters have to resort to the corruption of voters by paying for their registration or voting, they ought to be put in jail instead of in office. And if voters are so corrupt as to sell their vote, fairness to the honest and conscientious voter demands that they be penalized too.

The need for this amendment is immediate and compelling. The Senator from Delaware has placed in the Record various newspaper and other accounts of cheating at elections—dishonest and corrupt practices which have cancelled out the legal votes of good citizens. I could spend the rest of the afternoon doing the same thing. However, I shall not overburden the Record and instead will invite the attention of my colleagues to just a few additional examples which cry out for the Congress to take action.

In the Washington Post for April 19, Staff Writer Laurence Stern presents the story of Arkansas vote frauds where, for example, a migratory voter cast his ballot in at least four counties while traveling through the State last November 3. I ask unanimous consent that this article be placed in the Record at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PATTERN WIDESPREAD: ARKANSAS VOTE FRAUDS FOUND

(By Laurence Stern)

A migratory voter cast his ballot in at least four counties while traveling through northwest Arkansas last November 3.

A prominent Little Rock attorney was warned to get out of town by sundown when he asked to see public voting records in the home county of Gov. Orval Faubus.

Signatures of 47 applications for absentee ballots from residents of an Arkansas nursing home were shown through handwriting analysis to have been forged.

These are a few examples of what a bipartisan investigating committee deemed to be a widespread pattern of election fraud in Arkansas last November 3. A copy of the report by the Election Research Council, Inc., was placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD last Thursday by Representative MELVIN LAIRD, Republican, of Wisconsin.

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The council's findings resulted in a series of local grand jury investigations but no prosecution to date. The Justice Department has been conducting a 2-month investigation of voting fraud in Faubus' home county of Madison found no instances of fraud but did accuse the council of smearing honest local election officials. A grand jury in Poinsett County acknowledged that there had been many voting irregularities but reported that it could not find the culprits.

Governor Faubus, a Democrat, accused the council of being a tool of the Rockefeller political organization since roughly half of its funds came from Rockefeller family foundation sources.

Winthrop Rockefeller opposed Faubus for the Governorship last November and got an unprecedented (for a Republican) 43 percent of the vote.

But the chairman, John Haley, a Little Rock attorney, insisted that the election fraud study was meticulously \* \* \* as a preponderant majority of the civic, business and church leaders who comprised its board, are Democrats.

Absentee ballots, which were especially vulnerable to abuse in Arkansas last year, were the council's main interest in its postelection report.

The statewide absentee ballot count of 30,930 was "bloated with fraudulent and invalid votes," the council reported. On the basis of its own field studies the election group concluded that more than half of the absentee votes were invalid.

Until last November, the election council noted, "anyone could purchase poll tax receipts for an assortment of gravestones and then apply by mail for absentee ballots. The county clerk, seeing that the applicants were listed in the poll book, would then send the ballots and voters' statements to the designated address. The ballots would be returned and counted."

Arkansas voters ratified an amendment last year setting up a statewide registration system. Voters must now register in person and the poll tax has been abolished. The council found nursing homes in Arkansas were used as a means of bloc voting. It cited a letter from the president of the Arkansas Nursing Home Association to its constituent members urging that they secure poll tax receipts for "each of your nursing home patients who do not have a poll tax receipt and \* \* \* for each of your employees."

One month after the election the Pine Bluff Commercial published an article pointing out that one nursing home paid the poll taxes of 60 inmates, several of whom had been adjudged as mental incompetents. Absentee ballots mailed from the nursing home, the council found, deviated sharply from the rest of the county—with an overwhelming vote for Faubus as well as for a legalized gambling amendment and heavy opposition to the voter registration amendment.

The Election Research Council report said that the high percentage of absentee voting in Faubus' home county of Madison—about 10 percent of the total vote—indicated "that the absentee box in Madison County was manipulated for political purposes." The 91 percent absentee vote for Faubus contrasted sharply with his Madison County total of 64 percent.

When Chairman Haley asked the Madison County clerk, Charles Whorton, for permission to inspect the public absentee voting lists the day after election, Whorton answered that the safe was locked. Haley was then told to get out of town.

Haley and Republican field workers persisted in their efforts to gain access to the records for more than 2 months. Finally on January 14 Madison County authorities announced that the voting records had been stolen the previous night.

The FBI has been looking into the incident.

Mr. MILLER. In the Washington Post for March 12 of this year, there is a report indicating that in the April 1964 Democratic primary in Philadelphia the U.S. Department of Justice found evidence of vote frauds. According to the advice received by U.S. Attorney D. J. T. O'Keefe from the Department, there was evidence of "conspiracy among ward leaders and committeemen to make false cancellation of returns."

On the same day the New York Times ran an article by William G. Weart on the same subject. I ask unanimous consent that the Times article be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 12, 1965]  
UNITED STATES CHARGES FRAUD IN PHILADELPHIA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTING  
(By William G. Weart)

PHILADELPHIA.—The U.S. Department of Justice said today that unquestionably fraud had been committed in the reporting of election returns here in last April's bitter battle for the Democratic senatorial nomination.

A spokesman for the Department said there was "evidence of conspiracies among ward leaders and committeemen to make false certification of return" in 12 of the city's 60 wards.

The irregularities, uncovered during a 7-month investigation by Government agents, were alleged in the contest between Justice Michael A. Musmanno of the State supreme court, the choice of the Democratic organization, and State Secretary of Internal Affairs Genevieve Blatt.

After 5 months of legal maneuvering that reached the State supreme court and a recount of the city's 3,300 voting machines, Miss Blatt was certified as the winner of the statewide contest by a majority of 491 votes out of the 921,731 cast.

In the November general election Miss Blatt was defeated for the Senate seat by the Republican incumbent, Hugh Scott.

The Justice Department investigation centered on "patterns" of errors in the vote tabulation and the large number of absentee ballots cast in certain wards of the city.

A study of the errors in reporting returns showed, it was charged, that the same number of votes subtracted from Miss Blatt's total in some divisions had been added to the vote for Justice Musmanno.

The investigators found, for example, that in the first division of the 42d ward 22 votes were subtracted from Miss Blatt and 22 were added to Justice Musmanno for a net loss of 44 votes for Miss Blatt.

Also in the 42d ward, 302 Democratic absentee ballots were cast. That represented one-quarter of the entire total in the city.

The Justice Department, which has jurisdiction because a U.S. Senate seat was at stake, has turned over to U.S. Attorney Drew J. T. O'Keefe, a 10-inch-thick file of reports by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other investigators.

Nathaniel E. Cossack, head of the Criminal Fraud Division of the Justice Department, summed up the information in a 4-page letter that accompanied the file. The letter noted it would be difficult to prove fraud although the evidence was "compelling."

Mr. O'Keefe said he could not say what action might be taken until he had studied the voluminous file. After he has reviewed the evidence, he will submit his "views and recommendations" to the Justice Department.

Mr. MILLER. Of course everyone knows about the vote scandals in Chicago in the 1960 elections, but apparently

there was some recurrence again last year.

I ask unanimous consent that an article appearing in the Christian Science Monitor for November 6, 1964, be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor,  
Nov. 6, 1964]  
VOTE FRAUD CHARGED: EAGLE EYES IN CHICAGO  
(By Nobuo Abiko)

CHICAGO.—As in 1960, the Democrats won in Chicago, and the Republicans are charging vote fraud.

But in 1960 Democrat John F. Kennedy carried the State by a tissue-thin 8,858 votes. This time President Johnson overwhelmed the Republicans by more than 800,000.

This difference has taken some of the urgency out of GOP charges of widespread voting irregularities in this Democratic bastion. As one Republican says privately, "When you lose by that much, what difference does a few thousand votes make?"

Obviously, there won't be any demand for a recount. But Republicans charge that irregularities did occur—some right under their eyes.

#### WATCHERS ASSIGNED

This year Republicans recruited thousands of volunteers for poll-watching duty in a project dubbed Operation Eagle Eye. They assigned poll watchers to some 1,500 Chicago precincts.

Operation Eagle Eye was the biggest but not the only poll-watching operation in Chicago this year. Others were run by the office of the Cook County sheriff (the sheriff is a Republican), the nonpartisan Citizens Honest Election Foundation, and the nonpartisan Joint Civic Commission on Elections.

All of them report having observed numerous irregularities.

Some eagle eyes didn't even get inside their assigned polling place. Other poll watchers, who posed as Republicans, beat them to it, they protested.

Sidney T. Holzman, Democratic chairman of the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners, called it "the most orderly election I can recall in my 45 years of public service."

Richard B. Ogilvie, Republican Cook County sheriff, did not quite concur. "A typical Chicago election," he snorted, "widespread vote buying and illegal voting assistance."

#### COMMISSIONER QUOTED

Mr. Holzman remained unfazed. "All precinct captains worth their salt pay for votes," he was quoted as saying. "I've done it myself in the days when I used to be a precinct captain."

When asked if he had been quoted correctly, the election commissioner told this newspaper:

"You can ask any precinct captain. You gotta pay somebody to be a checker, to get out the vote. Now, you don't pay them to violate the law. But people are not interested in their duties to government—I don't say in all but in many instances."

"Every precinct captain is confronted with a family \* \* \* so he's got to utilize one member of the family as a political worker so he can get the rest of the family out to vote. Now if that isn't a form of solicitation, I don't know what is. It isn't actually asking you for compensation."

Many of the volunteer watchers were college students. Said one of them: "This has been the most brazen and disgusting experience of my life."

Despite these experiences, poll-watch officials found some grounds for satisfaction.